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Part I.-HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1892.

Discovery of Buddhist Remains at Mount Uren in Mungir (Monghyr) district, and Identification of the site with a celebrated Hermitage of Buddha.—By L. A. Waddell, M. B.

(With four Plates).

Seldom is it possible to identify an ancient site so perfectly as that now reported; for it seldom happens that the historical description is so very detailed, the geographical position so well defined, and the remains themselves so little disturbed as in the present case. And in addition to the discovery of the hermitage where Buddha spent the rainy season (the so-called 'Buddhist Lent') of the sixteenth year of his ministry, it is interesting and important to find that a famous incident in the legendary life of Buddha, which occurred here and which has hitherto been considered a solar myth, is in fact an almost unembellished record of a local event. Evidence is also offered of the forcible expulsion hence of Buddhism by the Muhammadan invaders, in opposition to the opinion expressed by many writers that Buddhism died out of India through its own inherent decay.

Discovery of site.—The antiquities at the village of Uren have quite escaped the notice of archæologists. On passing through the village some months ago, I observed numerous fragments of Buddhist statues scattered everywhere around, and was so led to explore the locality during the limited time at my disposal, with the result of discovering that the hill adjoining the village is one on which Buddha rested a season,

during the rains, and a celebrated place of pilgrimage in olden times, very fully described by the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang\* in the seventh century A. D.

Remains being destroyed by quarriers.—It is a pity that the site has remained so long undiscovered, for the unfortunate proximity of the hill to the railway, and the excellent quality of the rock (granite) have induced the railway authorities to use the hill as a quarry for 'roadmetal'; and only about six years ago two of the most interesting of the rock-sculptures were in this way demolished and the fragments further broken up and carried off as ballast; and the blasting operations have now extended to within a few feet of the more important rock-sculptures and markings still remaining. Many of the inscribed statues also have been carried off from time to time by the overseers or contractors supervising the quarrying operations—one of these in particular, a Mr. S is reported to have carried off, about thirty-six years ago, a full cart-load of the best preserved statuettes, the ultimate destination of which cannot Sufficient evidence, however, still exists to place the now be traced. identification of the site beyond all dispute, and I am glad to have been the means of rescuing these ancient remains, more especially the rockmarkings, from imminent destruction.

Hiven Tsiang's description of the site.—The I-lan-na-po-fa-to (Hira-nya-parvata) country of Hiven Tsiang is held by the recognized authorities Julien,‡ Fergusson§ and Sir A. Cunningham|| to have coincided approximately with the hilly portion (i. e., the eastern half) of the modern district of Mungir (Monghyr) in the province of Bihár, with its capital at the site of the present town of Monghyr. In describing this country, Hiven Tsiang writes:—¶

- "On the western frontier of the country (I-lan-na-po-fa-to), to the
- \* Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang by S. Beal, Vol. II, pp. 190-91, London, 1884.
- † Since writing the above I have again visited the site and find that further quarrying operations have been extensively carried on since the submission of this report to the Society. The western cliff, bearing numerous chaitya figures, has been in great part removed by blasting, only the fractured bases of a few of the chaityas still remaining. Also at the south-east margin of the hill, where the rock was highly polished and contained ancient markings, most of this surface has been removed by blasting. And a blast had been put in within two yards of Buddha's footprint, but had miscarried in explosion. All this destruction has occurred subsequent to my report to the Society.
  - ‡ Memoires sur les Contrées Occidentales, traduits du Chinois, Paris, 1853.
  - § Jour. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. VI, p. 230.
- || Ancient Geography of India, p. 476; and Arch. Survey of India Reports, Vol. XV, p. 16. ¶ Beal, loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 190.

"south of the river Ganges, we come to a small solitary mountain with "a double peak rising high (Beal here notes 'The passage might be translated "there is a small solitary hill with successive crags heaped up.") "Formerly Buddha in this place rested during the three months "of rain, and subdued the Yaksha Vakula (Yo-c'ha Po-khu-lo). "a corner of the south-east of the mountain is a great stone. On this "are marks caused by Buddha sitting thereon. The marks are about "an inch deep, five feet two inches long, and two feet one inch wide. "Above them is built a stúpa. Again to the south is the impression "on a stone where Buddha set down his kiun-chi-kia (kundika or water-"vessel). In depth the lines are about an inch, and are like a flower "with eight buds (or petals). Not far to the south-east of this spot "are the foot-traces of the Yaksha Vakula. They are about one foot "five or six inches long, seven or eight inches wide, and in depth less "than two inches. Behind these traces of the Yaksha is a stone figure "of Buddha in sitting posture, about six or seven feet high. Next, to "the west, not far off, is a place where Buddha walked for exercise. "Above this mountain top is the old residence of the Yaksha. Next, "to the north is a foot-trace of Buddha, a foot and eight inches long "and perhaps six inches wide and half an inch deep. Above it is a stúpa "erected. Formerly when Buddha subdued the Yaksha, he commanded "him not to kill men nor eat their flesh. Having respectfully re-"ceived the law of Buddha, he was born in heaven. To the west of this "are six or seven hot springs. The water is exceedingly hot."

General Cunningham's identification with Mahádeva hill.—So very detailed a description of this site ought to render its identification com. paratively easy and certain; and it seems remarkable that guided by such a minute description the identification should have been so long delayed. It may be that this is partly owing to Sir A. Cunningham having already in his official report\* identified the Mahádeva peak in the Kharakpur hills with the site just described by Hiuen Tsiang. But it had so happened that about two months previous to my visiting Uren, I had occasion to be in the neighbourhood of the Mahádeva hill referred to by General Cunningham, and I took advantage of the opportunity to visit the hill, book in hand—with the pilgrim's account and General Cunningham's remarks side by side for reference on the spot. And I confess to being thoroughly disappointed. In this case certainly the remarks applied by Fergusson to another identification of General Cunningham's are again fully applicable, viz., that after arbitrarily altering the direction given by his author, he fails in every instance to "bring

<sup>\*</sup> Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. XV, p. 19, Calcutta, 1882.

"the natural features of the country into accord with the descriptions of the pilgrim."

Mahádeva hill certainly not the site.—That the Mahádeva hill is certainly not the site referred to by the pilgrim is evident from the following facts:—

- 1st. It is not "on the western frontier," but rather on the eastern frontier of I-lan-na-po-fa-to.
- 2nd. It is not "a small solitary hill," but is within and among the hills and not a detached hill; it is only a lower shoulder of a higher hill of the range behind.
- 3rd. It has not "a double peak rising high"—the 2nd peak really belongs to another hill of the range.
- 4th. It has no "successive crags heaped up"—on the contrary its sides are trim and sub-conical.
- 5th. It has not "to the west not far off" any place suitable for a promenade.
- 6th. It has none of the very numerous rock-markings described by Hiuen Tsiang (so far as is known, and special inquiry and search for these were made).
  - th. It has no remains of the several stúpas erected on the site.
- 9th. The hot springs are not "to the west" of the hill, but actually upon the hill itself and on its eastern and N. E. slope.
- 9th. Lastly it has no Buddhist remains, nor remains of any kind (except a small brick shrine about 4 feet square housing a linga [Mahádeva], nor is there any history or likelihood of there ever having been remains hereabouts; and the situation is so remote from rail and roadways and villages, that had any buildings or remains ever existed here, it is scarcely possible that every trace of them could have been swept away.\*

Mt. Uren fully satisfies description in every detail.—Finding thus that the Mahádeva peak was certainly not the place referred to by the pilgrim, I was, at the time I stumbled on the Uren ruins, on the outlook for a site which would be more in harmony with the pilgrim's account; and that Mt. Uren fully satisfies the pilgrim's description, even to the minutest detail, will be abundantly evident from the following particulars:—

Situation of Mount Uren.-Mount Uren is situated in the Mungir dis-

<sup>\*</sup> The Pánch Kumár figure referred to by Genl. Cunningham was found about five miles from here and is only a five-faced 'linga' (phallus).

trict and on the Western frontier of the I-lan-na-po-fo-to (Hiranya-parva-ta) country, formerly included in the ancient kingdom of Magadha, and within the Buddhist Holy Land. It is about twenty miles distant from the town of Mungir in a S. W. direction, and about seven miles south of the present course of the Ganges, but in the rains the Ganges flood reaches almost up to Uren. In the Survey map the name is spelt "Oorein," but the local pronunciation and spelling of the name is Uren.

Local traditions.—Tradition is singularly meagre both in regard to the hill itself, and the ruins and remains at its base. The only story which is current amongst the villagers is, that the hill was formerly the abode of a demon or deified giant called Lorik, famous in the nursery tales of Bihár. And to this Lorik were ascribed the known markings on the hill, viz., the lotá-mark, the two footprints, and that portion of the hill called 'the house.' The existence of Buddha's footprint and the numerous inscriptions on the summit of the hill, and a footprint and inscriptions at the S. E. base were, however, unknown to the villagers, until I pointed them out.

Conformation of Hill identical with Hinen Tsiang's description. Of the hill itself no more concise description could be given than that contained in Beal's translation,\* viz., "a small solitary hill with successive crags heaped up." The hill is also "a small solitary mountaint with a double peak rising high." In appearance, therefore, the hill literally satisfies both the original and alternative descriptions. The hill is bare and devoid of vegetation, except in a few chinks in the rock where a scanty soil and debris have accumulated. Its black naked rocks, rising in a rugged series of crags abruptly from the plain, give it a most weird appearance. The rock consists of granite of a pale bluish colour on fracture, and its surface, where unpolished, becomes covered over with a black lichen. The hill is isolated and solitary, being distant about two miles from the mass of the Mungir hills, here consisting of what Buchanan calls 'silicious hornstone', and separated from these by a stretch of plain, now under rice cultivation. The height of the hill seems to be about 250 feet above the surrounding plain. shape of the hill is seen in the accompanying sketch-map (see Plate I), which also indicates the position of the remains and rock-markings. The southern peak is the higher and forms the true summit of the hill.

<sup>\*</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>†</sup> One of the translations gives 'mountain' instead of hill, but Beale shows that the word also means 'hill,' and there are no mountains in this part of India.

<sup>‡</sup> Eastern India, II, 166. It is commonly known as quartzite.

The numerous remains noted by Hiuen Tsiang identified seriatim.— In identifying seriatim the remains noted by Hiuen Tsiang, it is convenient to describe these in a slightly different order to that given by the pilgrim, as at least two of the rock "traces" have lately been removed, respectively five and six years ago.

The residence of the Yaksha.—1st, "Above this mountain top is the old residence of the Yaksha (Vakula)." This to the present day is one of the sights of the hill. The villagers call it Lorik ká ghar or 'the house of Lorik the giant' (i. e., Yaksha). It is a somewhat flat area on the top of the hill, below the S. E. side of the summit, and is surrounded on three sides by vaguely columnar rock, slightly suggestive of rude walls.

The local survival of the name of the Yaksha, viz., Bakula.—In regard to the name of the Yaksha, viz., Vakula,\* which in modern Hindí becomes Bakula, it is remarkable to find the local survival of this name and the awe in which it is still held. Immediately behind Uren is the mouth of a pass which leads into the wild Singhol hills; and the pass and the hills beyond were the retreat of banditti till long after the Muhammadan invasion. The older banditti are popularly alleged by the villagers to have been cannibals, and their raids are still spoken of by the lowlanders here with dread. These highland aborigines were formerly called rakshas or 'demons' by the plains-people; and the oldest settlement of these raksha or yaksha tribes is about five miles beyond the mouth of the pass, and is called Bakura—which is identical with the name of the 'yaksha' given by Hiuen Tsiang-l and r being interchangeable, and indeed such interchange is the rule hereabouts: thus the common word  $gw\acute{a}l$ , a cowherd, is ordinarily pronounced  $gw\acute{a}r$ . And in Chinese transliteration r is expressed by l. It is a common practice to name villages after their founders: thus Bakura village = 'the village of Bakura.' And so great was the dread inspired by this Bakura that he is even now worshipped by the semi-aborigines of the plains (the Dosádhs and Gwálas) at a shrine in the village of Jalálábád†, about eight miles east from Uren, under the name of 'Ban-Bakura Náth or the 'Savage Lord Bakura.' His image is in basalt and represents a squat muscular man in a semi-sitting posture. He has a large sensual head, thick lips and curly hair which latter is fastened in a coil with a scimitar-shaped dagger, as with the aborigines in

<sup>\*</sup> A Hindú legend of a man-eating demon, bearing the somewhat similar name of Vaka, is told in the Mahábhárata (Wheeler's Transl., p. 110), the demon being slain by Bhíma. But the great Asura Rájá, named Vaka, lived near the city Ekachakra, which is believed to be within the modern district of Sháhábád, about two hundred miles to the north of Uren. This may be a Hindú version of the Buddhist story.

<sup>†</sup> And six miles north-east from Kharagpur.

Tsiang's note that the Yaksha was converted to Buddhism, to find that these tribes had acquired profound respect for the remains at Uren; for they had carried off from the ruins to the pass several inscribed Buddhist stones and images, some of which are reverently disposed under trees at the foot of the pass and others on the summit of the pass, where they are rudely worshipped by daubing with vermillion. And most of these fragments show fractures so sharp as to lead to the belief that they had been carried off and deposited where they now are very shortly after the destruction of the Buddhist establishment at Uren.

Foot-trace of Buddha.—2nd. "Next to the north is a foot-trace of "Buddha, a foot and eight inches long, and perhaps six inches wide and half an inch deep." This foot-trace of Buddha is to be found to the north of 'Lorik ká ghar' and about five yards from the summit of the hill; see No. 5 on the plan (Plate I). It is of the right foot, and its dimensions are 23 inches long by  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad and about  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in depth. It is directed to the N.N.E.

The footprint is partly natural and partly artificial, the outer border of the print, for the greater part of its extent, is outlined by a linear flaw in the granite rock, into which has poured a quartzoze material, part of which had been picked out to give greater distinctness to the outline. The inner border of the footprint is also a natural line, and the depression of the heel and sole seem also natural; but the rock, forming the ball of the great toe and the marks of the toe-tips, has all been artificially chipped, the operation having been assisted by the rock in this situation slightly tending to scale, or peel off in one or two layers. No chiselling seems to have been resorted to, nor was it needed. In the depression from the root of the toes to the heel, the rock is highly polished and contains traces of numerous inscriptions, all, except the one registered in two lines on the ball of the toes, so indistinct as to give no legible impression—and even this one, I fear will prove unreadable.

The stúpa above footprint.—3rd, "Above it (the foot-trace of Buddha) is a stúpa erected." Five yards above the foot-trace, and in line with the direction in which it points, is a mound of bricks, the most prominent feature on the hill top, and suggestive of the remains of a small stúpa. The bricks are small, flattened and well-baked, and many of them are wedge-shaped. The narrowness of the rocky base, viz., about 12 feet by 12 feet, would not admit of a very large stúpa being built here. In the village below are collected numerous bevelled and sculptured basalt blocks which formed the facings of small stúpas. At the N. E. base of the brick mound is seen outcropping a part of the base of a thickly plastered wall, but its direction is nearly straight, and as it is dis-

posed somewhat radiatingly to the centre of the brick mound, it may be the remains of a wall bounding a path leading up to the stipa; but as I had no leisure to explore the mound properly, I left it undisturbed. The villagers report that at the last quarrying operations, about four years ago, the overseer carried off a black stone which was on the top of this brick-mound, and there is a square arrangement of the superficial bricks around the centre of the mound suggestive of the existence of a small square shrine here. The position being on the very top of the hill, it is quite possible that there may have been here a relatively modern shrine to a Brahmanic god, erected on the ruins of the stúpa and built with the bricks of the latter. Some of the villagers say that the officer of the 'fort' had his house here, but this is manifestly absurd, as there is no room for a dwelling house in such a circumscribed spot. This brick mound, therefore, demands careful exploration, although it is extremely improbable that any relics will be found here, as the depth of bricks now remaining is only about 3 feet or so.

Buddha's lotá-print.—4th. "Again to the south is the impression on a "stone on which Buddha set down his kiun-chi-kia (kundika or water-"vessel). In depth the lines are about an inch and are like a flower with "eight buds (or petals)." This mark, which is locally known as Lorik's 'lotá-mark'—lotá being the modern term for the ancient kundiká,—is still an absolutely fixed point, although the mark itself no longer exists, the portion of rock on which it was graven having been blasted about five years ago. Several of the villagers whom I separately interrogated led me always to the very same spot. Fortunately, however, in this case we are not dependent on the mere testimony of the villagers. several parts of the hill are sculptured on the rock the figures of stúpas or chaityas of most elaborate patterns. And I observed that these groups of stúpa-figures have their apices pointing towards one or other of the footprints and other sacred markings. In this case, the group of stúpafigures which are situated immediately below, and with their apices directed towards the reported site of the lotá-mark are supplemented by figures of the lotá or water-vessel very specially and prominently displayed; see Plate II.

The lotá is here figured in no less than three and probably four different phases, viz.:—

- (a) The small single circle to the left of the stúpa (No. 1, Pl. II.), which is reported to be the exact facsimile reproduction of the actual circumference of the body of the original  $lot\acute{a}$ -mark—now destroyed as above noted; its diameter measures  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches.
  - (b) The elongated pear-shaped figure (No. 2, Pl. II), immediately

opposite the circle, on the right of the stúpa, is the same  $lot\acute{a}$  seen in profile, with four leafy projections at rim and with rope attached. To prevent all mistake as to the object here represented, the Buddhist artist (probably a monk) has added the indication of the four fingers in the act of grasping the rope, from which the  $lot\acute{a}$  is suspended.

- (c) Below the circle, representing the circumference of the lotá, is the profile of an ascetic's pitcher (No. 3), such as are still used by Hindú mendicants under the name of kamaṇḍalu. In this case also are represented four fingers in the act of grasping the rope-handle of the lotá.
- (d) The looped figure (No. 4) by the side of the  $lot\acute{a}$  profile on the right is evidently the coiled drawing rope of the  $lot\acute{a}$ . When straightened out, it measures 3 feet  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

The remaining figures, except the large concentric circles (which may possibly represent cymbals, being much too large for a begging bowl), are merely accessories of worship, viz, a pile of granular material (evidently intended for rice and sweetmeats) on a raised tray, and the sankha or conch shell-trumpet (fig. 6) blown at the hours of worship also on a stand. These are evidently representative of the offerings and worship which were daily being made at the lota-print of Buddha, at the time when the drawing was executed. The inscription, contained in the base of this chaitya, seems to be merely the Buddhist creed, and is written in characters of the 8th or 9th century A. D.

Regarding the original  $lot\acute{a}$ -print, the villagers concur in reporting that its depth was a little over the length of the terminal phalanx (1st joint) of the index-finger, thus concurring with the pilgrim's description of "about an inch deep." The small circle, above noted as measuring  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches across, is said to have been equal to the circumference of the shoulder of the  $lot\acute{a}$ -print; but the rim of the print was of about one inch greater width all round than the base, and the whole depression was ornamented 'like a flower' (N. B.—this was a spontaneous expression of one of the villagers, thus agreeing with the pilgrim's account.) It is not recollected by the villagers how many petals were represented: but in the  $lot\acute{a}$ -profile (fig. 2), represented to the right of the stúpa-figure, are four petaloid appendages to the rim, two of which are distinctly subdivided (see also larger tracing No. 2a. at the foot of Plate II) thus affording evidence of the subdivision of the flower into eight petals as described by Hiuen Tsiang.

Further, the villagers report that all around the *loţá*-print, the rock was highly polished and covered with numerous inscriptions in unknown characters. That the rock hereabouts was highly polished, I find to be the case as the rock containing the *loţá*-print was on a ter-

race, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet above the plane of its stúpa-figures below, and a portion of this old surface, about four feet above the site of  $lot\acute{a}$ -print, has escaped dislodgement by the blasting and shows towards its lower border a commencing area of high polish. Finally the  $lot\acute{a}$ -print was situated on the southern portion of the hill (see Plate I) as stated by the pilgrim.

Foot-prints of the Yaksha.—5th. "Not far to the south-east of this "spot are the foot-traces of the Yaksha Vakula. They are about 1 "foot 5 or 6 inches long, 7 or 8 inches wide and in depth less than 2 "inches.". In the exact direction and position here indicated, viz., south-east from the lotá-mark and at a distance of about 100 yards, were the two "footprints of Lorik" (see No. 4 on Plate I.) These marks, which were well-known to the villagers were blown up only four years The two footprints were each about 18" long by 7 or 8 inches wide (described by villagers respectively as one háth (cubit) and two palm-breadths) and about 2 inches in depth. The divisions of the toes were clearly incised, and the surrounding stone was highly polished. One footprint was in front of the other, and they tended S. E. in the direction of Lorik-ká ghar, the abode of the yaksha. I would here refer to the unfortunately erratic manner in which these blasting operations are being conducted. At this particular part of the hill the only portion of the rock blasted was that which contained these two footprints and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet on either side of them—as if this overseer (a European) had purposely demolished these ancient marks. I believe the fact really is, that these markings were made on the most compact and undecomposed rock—the so-called jitá pathar 'the living stone' of the quarriers, and its highly polished surface attracted their unkind attention.

Colossal statue of Buddha.—6th. "Behind these traces of the Yaksha "is a stone figure of Buddha in sitting posture about six or seven feet "high." No superficial trace of this image now exists, unless a small splinter of basalt, which I found a few yards lower down and which had formed part of some image, can be considered as such. At this site, however, is a hollow, between two shoulders of rock, which has become filled up with the debris of ages, so it is possible that excavation here might reveal traces of this statue.

Buddha's promenade.—7th. "Next to the west (of Yaksha's foot"prints), not far off is a place where Buddha walked for exercise."

In the situation here indicated is a narrow level tract between two long massive shoulders of rock, see Plate No. III. Before the great accumulation of debris had taken place, the rock on either side must have stood up like walls and bounded a rocky lane—a most suitable pro-

menade for the great ascetic, affording an outlook only to the distant hills and overhead the sky.

Marks where Buddha sat down.—8th. "Below a corner of the southeast side of the mountains is a great stone. On this are marks caused by Buddha sitting thereon. The marks are about an inch deep, 5 feet 2 inches long and 2 feet 1 inch wide. Above them is built a stúpa." Julien, however, notes\* the existence of a cave here in which Buddha dwelt. He says "Au bas d'une caverne située au Sud-est;" yet, Beale makes no remark when giving a different translation, viz., 'corner.' It will be seen presently that Julien's translation seems the correct one. I have left the identification of this site to the last, because the whole of the old surface of the S. E. corner of the hill has been removed by blasting, and the markings on the rock here must have been demolished by the quarriers. Evidence, however, is still extant of the former existence of a Buddhist sacred spot within the quarried area near the point marked No. 7 on Plate I, "on the south-east side of the hill." On the vertical face of the rock, about twenty and thirty yards to the south and S. W. of that spot, are carved two stupas pointing to that spot, and the old surface of the rock on the verge of the quarry and about seven or eight yards above that spot shows the commencement of an area of high polish such as is only found at the sacred spots; and here are numerous traces of short inscriptions but mostly illegible. Evidence also is found of the existence of a cave here. On this edge of the quarry, in comparatively modern Devanágarí characters, is cut the inscription Jájú ghaur, i. e., 'Jájú's cave or house.'† This Jájú was evidently a modern occupant of the cave in which Buddha formerly dwelt, which was close to the large pipal tree (Ficus religiosa), see No. 7 on Plate I, and which was removed by the railway quarriers. But the villagers possess no tradition of any ascetic or local worthy of the name of Jájú, nor indeed were they aware of the existence of this inscription, till I pointed it out. He must have lived several generations ago. The greater portion of this side of the hill was blasted about thirty years ago, but farther blasting was done three years ago and also this year, and as the ballast coolies gather up fragments of bricks as well as stones, the remains of the stupa here must have been removed. In a hollow in the rock immediately to the west of this are the numerous remains of broken bricks presumably those of the stúpa.

The Hot Springs in relation to Uren.—The above are the remains

<sup>\*</sup> Op. cit., III, p. 70.

<sup>†</sup> Ghaur is the Mithila vernacular for ghar, a dwelling, and this portion of Monghyr district is included within the Mithila range of dialect. GRIERSON'S Bihar Peasant Life, p. 331.

noted by Hiuen Tsiang as existing on the hill. But immediately following the pilgrim's description of the hill is the paragraph: "To the west of this are six or seven hot springs. The water is exceedingly hot. To the south the country (I-lan-no) is bounded by great mountain forests in which are many wild elephants of great size. Leaving this kingdom, &c."

General Cunningham considers this note regarding the hot springs as being related to the description of Buddha's hermitage on the hill. But that it is so related, is open to doubt in view of the fact that (a) Hiuen Tsiang, as Beale remarks,\* was evidently writing from the capital of I-lan-no-po-fo-to, not having himself visited this hill, and (b) the preceding paragraph seemingly disposes of this hill with the words, "Formerly when Buddha subdued the Yaksha, he commanded him not to "kill men nor eat their flesh. Having respectfully received the law of Buddha, he was born in heaven," and the succeeding paragraph would seem to refer to the country of I-lan-no and not to this hill.

This paragraph therefore, regarding the direction of the hot springs, may equally well be taken as indicating their direction from the capital instead of from the hill. West from the capital of 'I-lan-no po-fo-to', which, as before noted, Vivien de Saint Martin, Fergusson and Cunningham are agreed was situated at or near the present town of Mungir, are two groups of hot springs the water of which "is exceedingly hot," viz., the hot springs of Janamkuṇḍ, distant about 20 milest to the south west, and the hot springs of Bhímband, distant about 25 miles to the S. S. W. and mentioned by General Cunningham. Dr. Buchanan visited these springs about the year 1810 and found the temperature of the waters to be in both cases 150° Fah.‡. And a more modern observation records the temperature as being 145°F. and 146'1°F. respectively.§

But even were the reference to the hot springs taken as an essential part of the description of the hermitage hill, then hot springs are still to be found not far off from Uren, and in a direction not altogether out of keeping with the pilgrim's description. The hot springs of Singhí Rikh are about three miles due south from Uren, and the hot springs of Janamkund are about twelve miles south-east from Uren; but, as a range of hills intervenes, the road leading from Uren to both of the above springs proceeds south-west for about four miles so as to get round the shoulder of this range of hills. So that on enquiring from certain villagers, at Uren, the way to the hot springs of Singhí Rikh

<sup>\*</sup> Op. cit., ii, foot-note, No. 11, p. 190.

<sup>†</sup> The pilgrim does not specify any distance for the springs.

<sup>‡</sup> Eastern India, II, p. 198.

<sup>§</sup> L. A. WADDELL, J. A. S. B. Vol. LIX, II, p. 226.

and Janamkund, I was directed to go south-west, and only subsequently ascertained that these springs really lay to the south and south-east respectively.

To describe, therefore, these springs in general terms as lying to the west of Uren is perhaps allowable under the circumstances, as the pilgrim was noting down a mere hearsay report, and the determination of such niceties of direction for distant places, where tortuous passages among hills are concerned, is possible even in modern times only to those provided with a compass. At each of these two sites the hot water outflows at six or seven separate springs.

Remains on hill additional to those noted by Hiuen Tsiang.—In addition to the above described remains and markings noted by Hiuen Tsiang, I observed on the hill the following additional remains:—

- (a) Part of a rock-cut inscription in large cuneiform headed characters on the summit of the hill about four feet to the east of Buddha's footprint, (see No. 4, Plate IV.) The rock here is much scaled, so that only a fragment of the inscription is apparent. The inscription seems to be in 5 or 6 lines. The fragment given in the plate is the only portion legible and seems to be a portion of the 3rd line. This inscription is bounded by four lines forming a square with a side of about 7 feet; the borders of which are in exact relation to Buddha's foot-print.
- (b) Short rock-cut inscription in later Gupta characters, on highest peak of rock, and about three feet above Buddha's footprint. See No. 5, Plate IV).
- (c) Innumerable names in a great variety of archaic characters cover the surface of rock, at the summit for several square yards. These are written across one another in every direction, and are evidently in most part the names of pilgrims. On such an exposed situation and worn away by the feet during so many centuries, the words are well nigh obliterated and will I fear prove quite illegible. The ordinary process of copying by ink-impression is much too rough for such markings and only indicates those written in the larger sized letters. On one part of the rock, at No. 9 on map, are characters of a distinctly Burmese type forming a closely written series of about ten lines.
- (d) A footprint with modern Hindí inscriptions and traces of words in older charactere is found on the south-east portion of the hill at the point marked No. 6 on Plate I. The footprint measures 24 inches in length, by 9 inches in breadth; its outline is rather indistinct, and compared with Buddha's footprint it has a relatively modern appearance—the presence, however, of same letters in the Kutila character show that it must be of considerable age, although probably subsequent to the time of Hiuen Tsiang.

(e) Numerous chaitya figures sculptured on the rock on various parts of the hill. The site of these are indicated on Plate I, and they all have their apices pointing to one or other of the holy spots. On the base of the large chaitya figure of the lotá-mark, and also on a vertical one at the south-west corner of the hill, are inscriptions, but these seem merely to contain the Buddhist creed.

Résumé of evidence identifying Mt. Uren with the hill described by Hiuen Tsiang.—Taking a brief résumé of the evidence for the identification of Mt. Uren, with the hill described by Hiuen Tsiang, we see that the identity is proved by:—

- 1st. The geographical position.
- 2nd. The physical conformation of the hill.
- 3rd. The actual presence and co-existence of all the very numerous and specialized remains and rock-markings noted by Hiuen Tsiang.
- 4th. The very numerous votive Buddhist statues and chaityas and the thousands of names carved on rock, indicating a sacred place of Buddhist pilgrimage.
- 5th. The survival of the old tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsiang that the hill-top was the abode of a demon, and his abode and footprints and the lotá-mark still being pointed out, and the survival of the name and worship of 'the Savage Lord Bakura.'

#### THE REMAINS AT BASE OF THE HILL.

I now proceed to describe the superficial remains at the base of the hill. Running out from the north base of Mt. Uren is a small flat and somewhat rocky spur on the northern extremity of which is situated the village of Uren. Occupying the north-eastern portion of this spur and adjoining the base of the hill, is a terraced area of broken bricks and fragments of Buddhist statues and hewn stones, locally known as "Indardaun ká garh—the fort of Indardaun, see No. 13 on Plate I. Indardaun (the Indradyumna of Buchanan\*), whose name still lingers in the memory of the people, was the reigning king of Magadha, at the time of the Muhammadan invasion in 1195 A. D., and he is believed by Buchanan to have been one of the Pála dynasty which was Buddhist, and on his flight from Bengal he is stated to have built the temple of Jagarnáth, the original Buddhist character of which seems undoubted.

The so-called 'garh,' or fort, evidently a monastery.—Although it is not improbable that some of Indardaun's troops may have occupied this

<sup>\*</sup> Eastern India, II, 23. Also Cunningham's Repts., III, p. 132.

post when being hard-pressed by the Muhammadan invaders,—the historical accounts, however, state that his troops fled without offering resistance—still the whole appearance of the place seems to justify the belief that the so-called 'garh' or fort at Uren was originally and essentially a Buddhist monastery. It is much too small in size for a fort, nor has it the outline ditch or earthworks of one or any cavity or depression within. On the other hand it teems with fragments of Buddhist statues and rough-hewn lintels and door-jambs, and seems to have been an almost solid mass of brick buildings. An old resident states that when the greater part of the ruins were being dug up for bricks on the construction of the adjoining railway embankment over thirty years ago, the appearance revealed was that of innumerable small rooms, and in one of these he saw on a shelf-like recess in the wall a folded-up cloth like a sash, which crumbled to dust on being touched.

Historic reference to this monastery.—No mention is made by Hiuen Tsiang of a monastery at this place: this may be owing to his not having himself visited the locality. That a monastery did exist at such a sacred place, hallowed by the residence of Buddha and containing so many visible "traces" of his presence, and itself a place of pilgrimage, may be considered certain. From another source we find what seems a reference to this monastery. The fullest accounts of Buddha's life, yet known, are preserved in the Southern Scriptures, and from these it would appear that this hill is the place where Buddha spent the Vassa (rains-July to September, the so-called Lent) of the sixteenth season of his ministry. Reference is only made to one occasion on which Buddha converted a solitary man-eating demon; and both the Sinhalese\* and the Burmeset versions of the legend agree in placing the scene at the place spelt respectively A-low and A-la-wi, which bears a remarkably close resemblance to the name of Uren—seeing that the old Sinhalese and Burmese translators being unable to pronounce the letter r, either elided it or substituted an l, thus habitually mangling Indian names. The general details of the attendant circumstances of that event also favour the view that this was the same incident which Hiuen Tsiang narrates. Sinhalese version further states that the place was 30 yojanas (i. e., over 400 miles according to Sinhalese calculation;) distant from the great Jetavana Vihára near S'rávastí, which St. Martin§ indicated and Genl.

<sup>\*</sup> Spence Hardy's Man. of Buddhism, 2nd ed., p. 269.

<sup>†</sup> BIGANDET'S Legend of Gautama, I, p. 245.

<sup>\$\</sup>frac{1}{2}\$ According to Indian calculation, the yojana is considered to be only about seven miles. It is generally believed, however, to have been greater than this in ancient times.

<sup>§</sup> Loc. cit., p. 355.

Cunningham\* afterwards identified as a spot in the neighbourhood of Sáhet-Mahet in S. Oudh, and the direct distance hence to Uren is by the map about three hundred miles, but by road it would be much greater. Both versions note that the place was near the Ganges, and that the demon killed and ate human beings, and was converted by Buddha. The Sinhalese account states that the abode of the demon in the forest was high and conspicuous as this hill is; and the Burmese version further states that "Buddha spent herein the sixteenth Season," and adds "on that spot where so glorious and unexpected a conversion "had taken place a monastery was erected."

As the hill of Uren itself offered no room for a monastery this would naturally be built on the spur at the base, now occupied by the mounds of brick ruins.

Sketch of its extent and superficial remains.—In the accompanying map (Plate I) will be seen the position, extent and outline of the mass of brick debris, which seems to be the ruins of the monastery. I should mention that in surveying the site I took the measurements by pacing, and one step is taken as being equivalent to one yard. Before the railway excavations commenced about thirty years ago, the ruins are said to have formed high mounds of bricks outlining the position of the walls. But the railway operations removed all the superficial bricks and the greater portion of the foundation of the walls were also dug up. The old villagers report that the bricks thus exhumed from the foundations were of enormous size, viz., about 18 inches  $\times$  10" or 12" and of a thickness like ordinary modern bricks. Notwithstanding the hundreds of cartloads of bricks thus dug up and removed, it is said that a considerable portion of the foundation still remains intact underneath the present mounds of brick debris; so that excavation may yet reveal the exact plan of the building. The surface of these terraced mounds is strewn with fragments of statues and other sculptured stones. At the point marked No. 14 on the map are fragments of what appears to be a life-sized standing statue of Buddha, and these seem to be more or less in situ. The numerous Buddhist images throughout the village are reported to have been all collected from this site and carried to where they now are for greater safety. At the point marked No. 15 on the map were exhumed two ornamented pillars. The points, marked No. 13 on the map, indicate unusually high mounds of broken bricks and rough-hewn granite blocks. There is no evidence that any large village ever existed here.

Multitude of inscribed images and votive chaityas.—The multitude of inscribed Buddhist images and votive chaityas of high artistic merit is

only to be accounted for on the supposition that this was a famous place of pilgrimage in olden times. The stone employed is, with few exceptions, a fine, almost homogeneous bluish basalt, which is worked into a high polish. No such rock exists in the neighbourhood. The curved appearance of several of the sculptured slabs shows that they formed portions of small stúpas, such as those which existed on the hill. These blocks were clamped together with iron bolts.

The Inscriptions.—Nearly every image bears an inscription. This, in most instances, is merely the Buddhist creed, commencing with 'Om ye dharmma-hetu, &c.,' such as is usually engraved on votive images. But a few of the longer inscriptions may contain interesting information. For one of these see No. 3, Plate IV. Four of these inscriptions are in the curious cuneiform headed character, found in the upper rock-cut inscription, with wedge-like terminations to the up-strokes, suggestive of the old Assyrian style of letters. These appendages are also attached laterally to certain of the letters. This is possibly the same character as that contained in the two specimens, referred to by Mr. Bendall\* as not having yet been deciphered by archæologists, but he does not appear to have figured them. This form of character, although Sanskritic has little in common with the style of the so-called 'nail-headed' characters, even were the apex of the triangle directed downwards instead of up. That their style is distinctly wedge-headed is evident from the rock-cut inscription, shown in No. 4, Plate IV; and it will be interesting to find, if they have a north-west origin. Mr. Fleet also notest having lately received from Gayá a specimen of what may possibly be this character in an inscription on the bottom plate of a brass image of Buddha, which he has not yet made out. The three inscriptions, shown in Nos. 1, 2, and 4, of Plate IV, of which the first two are entire and seem to contain the Buddhist creed, may afford a key to this rare style of character. The style of the characters shows that the majority of the inscriptions date from the 8th to the 12th century A. D.; but the letters of the rock cut wedge-headed inscription when divested of their cuneiform appendages are almost Aśoka-like. One of the smaller inscriptions kindly translated by Dr. Hoernle runs 'This is the pious gift of Srí Udaya.'

Old Tank-names in the vicinity.—It is worth while, here, to give a list of the names of the old tanks or ponds (pukhar) in the vicinity; especially as the names are evidently ancient, and survivals of names which are now meaningless to the villagers.

<sup>\*</sup> Journey in Nepal, &c., p. 54, 1886.

<sup>†</sup> Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, p. 19, Calc., 1889.

- 1. Dháka kunda gadráhí.
- 2. Shamár garhí pukhar.
- 3. Kumukhar.
- 4. Jhár Kathí pukhar.
- 5. Sarpandáni pukhar.
- 6. Amrourá do.
- 7. Sahán do.
- 8. Sitáhí do.
- 9. Uraiyá do.

The first three are in the immediate vicinity of Uren, and the others within  $\frac{1}{8}$ <sup>th</sup> to  $\frac{1}{4}$ <sup>th</sup> of a mile of that place. In connection with the first named I would note that Gadrabha is said to be the name of the house-keeper of the Yaká of A-low\* (Uren), and it is remarkable that the tank retains the old Hindí word kunda in stead of pukhar. The second tank is at the side of the so-called garh or fort, and seems to be named in this relation. As this tank borders what is evidently the monastery, it is possible that Shamár may be a corruption of Shaman = Skt. 'Sramaṇa' a Buddhist monk. The third tank-name may mean the "Prince's" [Sakya] or the "potter's" tank—there have been no potters living here within the recollection of the villagers.† The fourth name evidently means the tank of 'the Kath forest'—Kath is the name of a kind of tree occasionally worshipped by the aboriginal Musáhars, and is to be found some miles off, although not now near this tank.

The purity of the Buddhism.—The purity of the form of Buddhism prevailing at this establishment is evidenced by the almost total absence of Sivaic images and the very orthodox nature of the truly Buddhist images, and this is in keeping with Hiuen Tsiang's statement that most of the monasteries in this district were of the Hinayana school—the more primitive and pure sect. The majority of the images represent Buddha in the meditative form, others show him in a sitting posture as Teacher expounding the Law, and a few represent him standing and entering into the state of Parinirvana. He is as frequently represented crowned, as with the tonsure. The monkey episode and the crouching elephant are frequent accessories. The central supporting figure in most of the basements is a squat human male figure with snake-like locks of hair, see Plate IV, No. 2. The upper two-thirds of a female figure in sandstone with leafy ornaments are somewhat after the

<sup>\*</sup> Spence Hardy Op. cit., p. 270.

<sup>† [</sup>The name means neither. It is a contraction of Skr. Kumbhapushkara, lit. 'jar-tank'. It contains no reference either to a prince or a potter. Ep.]

style of the Mathurá sculptures figured by General Cunningham.\* At a hamlet about a mile to the west is a perforated screen and a portion of a slab with an elegant scroll design.

The only trace of impurity, observed by me, was found in a small four-armed figure of Avalokiteśvara and a small highly carved marble image of the Bodhisattva Tára of the Nepalese and Tibetan Buddhists. On the back of the latter image is inscribed the Buddhist creed in mediæval Kutila characters, and in the base are portrayed the seven treasures of a Chakravarti rájá, such as S'akyamuni was to have been, had he not adopted the life of an ascetic; viz., (1) a wheel (chakra-ratna), (2) elephant (hasti-ratna), (3) horse (aśva-ratna), (4) a jewel on a trifid pedestal (manikya-ratna), (5) a general (senápati-ratna), (6) a minister (grahapati-ratna) and (7) a good wife (strí-ratna).

In its palmy days, this rocky hill, studded with stúpas and its profusion of images and ministering monks, must have formed a most picturesque sight.

DATE AND MODE OF DESTRUCTION OF THIS BUDDHIST ESTABLISHMENT.

Buddhism is known to have been the state-religion in Magadha so late as the reign of Mahipála, whose inscription, notifying this fact, is dated 1026 A. D. It would thus appear, in Magadha, at least, to have been little, if at all, affected by the Brahmanical persecution under S'ankaráchárya.† General Cunningham states‡ that Buddhism "continued to be "the dominant religion of Magadha from the middle of the eighth century "down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest, when the monasteries "were destroyed, and the monks put to death by the ruthless and il-"literate Musalmans." But it is not apparent on what grounds the General makes the latter portion of this statement, and the attitude towards Buddhism of the Pála kings, subsequent to Mahipála, does not yet appear to be definitely known. Some evidence, however, seems to be available regarding the approximate date and mode of destruction of this Buddhist establishment at Uren which favours the above statement. The latest Buddhist inscriptions on the images are written in mediæval Nágarí characters, such as commenced to be current about the 12th and 13th centuries A. D. And local tradition ascribes the destruction of the 'garh' and the temples containing the images (Buddhist) to the

<sup>\*</sup> Arch. Survey Reports., vol. I, pl. 40, and vol. III, pl. 6.

<sup>† &</sup>quot;Ce fut dans ce temps (9th century A. D.) que parurent des ennemis terribles, pour les bouddistes. Çankaraatchareia et son disciple Bataatchareia, qui exterminèrent le Bouddisme, le premier dans le Bengale, le second, à Uriçça."—TARANATH in Vassilief's Le Bouddisme, p. 53.

<sup>‡</sup> Arch. Survey Report., vol. III, 119.

Pathán soldiery at the Muhammadan invasion of Bihár, which event took place in 1195 A. D. under the Afghán General Bakhtyár Khiljí.\* Stewart't states that Indradyumna's troops fled without offering any resistance; thus the teeming monasteries were left unprotected, and the Muhammadans appear to have regarded the monks as the soldiery of the enemy, and massacred them wholesale. What happened in the neighbouring monastery of Bihár (vihára) has been chronicled by one of the historians of the invaders, and it is typical of what must have happened a few days later at Uren. He says‡ "Muḥammad Bakhtyár "with great vigour and audacity rushed into the gate of the fort and "gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into the hands of "the victors. Most of the inhabitants of the place were Bráhmans with "shaven heads. They were put to death. Large numbers of books "were found there; and when the Muhammadans saw them, they called "for persons to explain their contents, but all the men had been killed. "It was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study (madra-"sah). For in the Hindí language the word vihára means 'a college." In the above account the occupants of the monasteries are described as 'Bráhmans with shaven heads.' These were quite evidently Buddhist monks, as the rude idol-hating invaders were ignorant of the religious distinctions of the Indians, and having killed all the Buddhist monks, the subsequent historian merely designates the massacred priests by the title of the surviving priests of the people. In support of this view is the reference to shaven heads, which condition is a characteristic of Buddhist monks, and not of Bráhman priests, who leave a tail of hair uncut at the crown and do not differ in this respect from the laymen.

Invading Muhammadans the destroyers.—This tradition is also fully supported by the appearance of the remains. The deep-rooted respect paid by Hindús to images and idols of every description, even though these be of strange gods, is as well known as is the Muhammadan's religious abhorrence of images; and Patháns are amongst the most fanatical of Muhammadans. Most of the large statues have been shivered into pieces, and of the smaller ones scarcely any have escaped serious mutilation; and that the mutilation was deliberately done is evident from the heads being broken off and features chipped, even when these were in depressed positions and not readily reached; the marks of hatchet cuts are also visible. This same spirit for mutilating images,

<sup>\*</sup> BLOCHMANN in Statistical Acc., Bengal, XV, p. 63. Stewart (Hist. Bengal, p. 39), puts the date at 1199 A. D.

<sup>†</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>†</sup> Minháj-i-Siráj in Tabaqát-i-Násirí, transl by Elliot, II, p. 306.

on religious grounds, still survives amongst Muhammadans. I lately witnessed in Upper Burma this work of destruction taking place under very similar circumstances to what obtained at Uren, viz., a force, consisting mainly of Muhammadan (and these mostly Pathán, i. e., Afghán) troops invading a country actively Buddhistic and hoary with the antiquity of its Buddhist monuments. Although stringent orders had been issued to respect the temples and their teeming images, it was found impossible to repress the Muhammadan soldiery from clandestinely mutilating the very numerous alabaster images of Buddha which abounded in every village. One image would be dashed against another, and the head, thus broken off, used as an instrument to mutilate the features of all the other images within reach, and the heads finally thrown far away. Had these men been altogether unrestrained, the work of destruction must have been enormous. As further illustrating the fanatical spirit of these Muhammadan invaders is the historical note\* regarding their invasion of Koch Bihár: the chief (Mír Jumlah) issued "directions to destroy all the idolatrous temples and to erect mosques in their stead. To evince his zeal for religion, the General himself with a battle-axe broke the celebrated image of Narain, the principal object of worship of the Hindús of that province." This image is known to be the mutilated image of Buddha, still at Koch Hajo and worshipped by Hindús under the name of Mádhab, one of the titles of Náráyana or Vishnu. And at Uren itself, when photographing the two ornamental pillars which are now deposited in the garden of a Muhammadan gentleman of the place, I expressed a regret that the figures had been mutilated; on which the aforesaid gentleman stated that when the pillars were exhumed a few years ago, some of the features still remained entire, but he with his own hands completed the mutilation, as otherwise he could not have tolerated the pillars near his dwelling.

Mediæval Brahmanic idols similarly destroyed.—At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Magadha in the seventh century, although the dominant religion was Buddhism, many Brahmanical temples with their priests existed throughout the country. One such small Brahmanical temple appears to have become established at Uren, at the point marked No. 16 on Plate I. It was far removed from the Buddhist settlement and it enshrined one or all of the following idols, which are still found there:—

- (1) A four (?) armed Durgá.
- (2) A Hara-Gaurí (S'iva and Parvatí).
- (3) A pot-bellied god squatted in front of a palm-leaf-like canopy? (Gaṇeśa).

<sup>\*</sup> STEWART Ibid., p. 289.

The last noted idol has an inscription in mediæval Nágarí, and all of them are of very coarse workmanship. But here is the interesting point, as bearing on the destruction of the Buddhist settlement: all these Brahmanic images have been mutilated in exactly the same manner as the Buddhist images: the heads being broken off and the features deliberately smashed. No Hindús, nor the hill tribes, who especially worship stones, even unsculptured, could have been the destroying agents here. It is, therefore, only reasonable to believe, as the local tradition relates, that the Muhammadan invaders, not discriminating between Buddhist and Brahmanic images, mutilated both alike. Uren, it is to be noted, must have felt the full force of the invasion, as it lay directly in the line of route to Mungir, a stronghold in which the "invaders soon established themselves, as it seems to have been the second town in Southern Bihár "\* at that period.

Conservation of Buddhist images by the Hindús.—The relatively good state of preservation in which many of these fragments of Buddhist images are found after the lapse of so many centuries is directly due to the extreme veneration, in which images of every kind are held by Hindú The numerous Buddhist images and sculptured stones, now collected on the brick mound, marked No. 16 on Plate VI, which seems to be the ruins of the deva temple and is now the Kálí shrine of the village, are reported to have been gathered by the Hindús from the ruins of the garh and deposited there, where they now are treasured up. And as further fragments from time to time are unearthed, they are added to the collection or deposited under one or other of the pipal (Ficus religiosa) trees in the village, where the larger ones are worshipped by daubing with red lead. The images of Buddha are thus worshipped under the names of Mai ( = mother) or Chandi Mai, Parbati or Devi ( = goddess), all of them names of S'iva's consort—the mild benign expression of the images being interpreted as indicating a female; and the votive chaityas are worshipped as lingas (phallus). In such veneration are these images held that I had the greatest difficulty in copying the inscriptions and taking the photographs. The villagers at first gathered in a rather threatening manner, and said that they would not allow their gods to be desecrated by the hands of any person, whether Hindú or not. I explained to them that these Buddhist images were not Hindú gods at all; but the villagers still persisted in saying that they had for generations become accustomed to regard these images as the gráma-devatá (villagegods) of the place, and they would not now give up that belief. timately they were somewhat appeared on my promising to touch the

<sup>\*</sup> BLOCHMANN, oc. cit.

images as little as possible, and to replace them again exactly as I found them; but seeing that the process was a rather tedious one, a guard was always kept at the place to see that I did not carry off any of the stones.

Such an attitude on the part of the villagers—who are here mostly bigoted Bábhans of the Rájpút caste and possibly descendants of the original Buddhist community—has undoubtedly tended to conserve these remains.

It must not, however, be supposed that the protection thus offered by Hindús to Buddhist images is knowingly given out of pious regard This is not the case. In every instance the images are for Buddhism. cherished in the belief that they are truly Hindú gods. The real attitude of Hindús towards Buddhist images is well seen at Bodh Gayá where the Hindú pilgrims to the adjacent Brahmanical shrines may be seen scowling and even spitting upon the Buddhist images now conserved there by Government. Indeed the Gayá pilgrimage, which every good Hindú must perform is one of direct hostility to Buddhismthe great Gayá Asura demon, whose suppression is the raison d'être of this pilgrimage, being none other than Buddha himself. This should be well considered by those who believe that the adoption of Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu by certain of the Hindús in mediæval times necessarily implies that Buddhism disappeared from India by amicable amalgamation with Bráhmanism.

Concluding remarks.—In conclusion, I would draw especial attention to the following points, the importance of which is indeed self-evident, viz.,

1st. The necessity for Government-conservation of the hill without delay, in order to prevent further removal, by the quarriers, of these surviving remnants of antiquity.

2nd. The desirability of thoroughly exploring the monastery mounds and stúpa-like sites, &c., as excavation will doubtless reveal numerous remains now buried among the ruins.

3rd. That the legend of this Yaksha is not a mere Sun-myth as supposed by Rhys Davids following Senart,\* but is founded on a certain basis of fact. Divested of its embellishments, the story resolves itself into the conversion by Buddha of a notorious and dreaded non-Aryan free-booter and possibly a cannibal whose reputation still survives till the present day. In addition to the particulars already given of these so-called 'demons', it is remarkable that the detailed account of the 'Yakás', given in the Sinhalese Scriptures, is an almost exact

<sup>\*</sup> Buddhism by RHYS DAVIDS, p. 73, Lond., 1887.

description of the disposition and leading traits of these wild aborigines up to the present day.\*

The light thrown by the local tradition, coupled with the appearance, age, &c. of the remains, on the probable manner in which Buddhism became extinguished in this part of India, viz., a sudden and complete extinction by the fierce onslaught of the Muhammadan invaders. The Buddhist monks, crowded together in large communities and in special buildings, surrounded with idols, must have appeared to the fanatical invaders as the idolators par excellence, and as such were undoubtedly the so-called 'unopposing Bráhmans with shaven heads' of Muhammadan history† who were massacred by the troops. On the massacre and flight; of the monks, the destruction of the temples, &c., and the permanent occupation of the country by the Muhammadan invader, it is not surprising that Buddhism, which, for its popular existence, depends so essentially on its monastic establishment, should have utterly disappeared. Brahmanism, on the other hand, being a much more personal and domestic religion, with comparatively little display of its idols, could still survive the torrent of Moslem fanaticism.

5th. The presence of so many inscriptions in the novel cuneiform headed character is remarkable.

And lastly, additional testimony is here afforded to the marvellous accuracy of that illustrious traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, as a geographer.

## Lamaic Rosaries: their Kinds and Uses.—By L. A. Waddell, M. B.

The rosary is an essential part of a Lama's dress; and taking, as it does, such a prominent part in the Lamaic ritual, it is remarkable that the Tibetan rosary does not appear to have attracted particular notice.

As a Buddhist article the rosary is especially peculiar to the northern school of Buddhists; and the outcome of the esoteric teachings of the Maháyána school, instilling belief in the potency of muttering

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;The dwelling-place of the Yakás is not in the narakas (hell); .... they are found in the earth ..... They marry and delight in dances, songs and other amusements; their strength is great; and some of them are represented as possessing splendour and dignity," and from what follows they are much addicted to "intoxicating drinks."—Spence Hardy's 'Manual of Buddhism,' p. 46.

<sup>+</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>†</sup> Many of the fugitive monks, seem to have escaped into Nepal and Tibet.— 'Sketches from Nepal' by H. A. Oldfield, M. D., II, p. 67.

mystic spells and other strange formulas. In the very complicated rosaries of Japan\* it has attained its highest development.

The rosary is not enumerated in the southern Scriptures among the articles necessary for a monk. But incidental mention is made by Shway Yoe† of a rosary with 108 beads; and several of the Burmese monks I have met possessed a rosary called 'Bodhi' consisting of 72 black sub-cylindrical beads which I understood, were composed of slips of a leaf inscribed with charmed words and rolled into pellets with the aid of lacquer or varnish.

The rosary is not conspicuous amongst Southern Buddhists; but amongst Tibetans, it is everywhere visible. It is also held in the hand of the image of the patron god of Tibet—Ché-ré-si (Skt. Avalokiteśvara). And its use is not confined to the Lamas. Nearly every lay-man and woman is possessed of a rosary on which at every opportunity they zealously store up merit; and they also use it for secular purposes, like the sliding balls of the Chinese to assist in ordinary calculations: the beads to the right of the centre-bead being called ta-thang and registering units, while those to the left are called chu-dô and record tens, which numbers suffice for their ordinary wants.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE ROSARY AND ITS APPENDAGES.

The Tibetan name for the rosary is  $\mathfrak{Q}$  'hphreng-ba,' pronounced theng-wa or vulgarly theng-nga, and literally means 'a string of beads.'

The rosary contains 108 beads of uniform size. The reason for this special number is alleged to be merely a provision to ensure the repetition of the sacred spell a full hundred times, and the extra beads are added to make up for any omission of beads through absent-mindedness during the telling process or for actual loss of beads by breakage. Chéré-si and Dö-ma have each 108 names, but it is not usual to tell these on the rosary. And in the later Kham editions of the Lamaic Scriptures—the 'bkah hgyur,'—the volumes have been extended from 100 to 108. And the Burmese foot-prints of Buddha sometimes contain 108 Subdivisions.‡ This number is perhaps borrowed like so many other Lamaic fashions from the Hindús, of whom the Vaishnabs possess a rosary with 108 beads.

The two ends of the string of beads, before being knotted, are passed

<sup>\*</sup> Note on Buddhist Rosaries in Japan. By J. M. James, Trans. Jap. As. Soc., p. 173, 1881.

<sup>†</sup> The Burman: His Life and Notions I. p. 201.

<sup>#</sup> The Burman, &c., I. p. 201.

through three extra beads, the centre one of which is the largest. These are collectively called dok-dsin ( ${}^{2}$ A')  $Q_{E}^{2}$ 3' rdog-hdsin) or 'retaining or seizing beads.' The word is sometimes spelt mdo-hdsin, and pronounced  $d\hat{o}$ -dsin, which means 'the union-holder.' In either case the meaning is much the same. These beads keep the proper rosary beads in position and indicate to the teller the completion of a cycle of beads.

This triad of beads symbolises 'the Three Holy Ones' of the Buddhist Trinity, viz., Buddha, Dharma (the Word) and Sangha (the Church, excluding the laity). The large central bead represents Buddha, while the smaller one intervening between it and the rosary beads proper represents the Church and is called 'Our special Lama-monitor' (རྡ་བའོ་བུ་མ་), the personal Lama-guide and confessor of the Tibetan Buddhist; and his symbolic presence on the rosary immediately at the end of the bead-cycle is to ensure becoming gravity and care in the act of telling the beads, as if he were actually present.

The Geluk-pa, or 'reformed' sect of Lamas, usually have only two beads as dok-dsin, in which case the terminal one is of much smaller size, and the pair are considered emblematic of a vase from which the beads spring. In such cases the extra bead is sometimes strung with the other beads of the rosary, which latter then contains 109 beads; thus showing that the beads really number 111.

Attached to the rosary is a pair of strings of ten small pendant metallic rings as counters. One of these strings is terminated by a miniature dor-je (the thunderbolt of Indra) and the other by a small bell—in Tantric Buddhist figures the dorje is usually associated with a bell. The counters on the dorje-string register units of bead-cycles, while those on the bell-string mark tens of cycles. The counters and the ornaments of the strings are usually of silver, and inlaid with turquoise.

They are used in the following manner. When about to tell the beads, the counters on each string are slid up the string. On completing a circle of the beads, the lowest counter on the *dorje*-string is slid down into contact with the *dorje*. And on each further cycle of beads being told, a further counter is slid down. When the ten have been exhausted, they are then slid up again, and one counter is slipped down from the bell-string. The counters thus serve to register the utterance of  $108 \times 10 \times 10 = 10,800$  prayers or mystic formulas.

The number of these formulas, daily repeated in this way, is enormous. The average daily number of repetitions may, in the earlier stages of a Lama's career, amount to 5,000 daily, but it depends somewhat on the zeal and leisure of the individual. A layman may repeat daily about five to twenty bead-cycles, but usually less. Old women are especially pious in this way, many telling over twenty bead-cycles daily. A middle-aged Lama friend of mine has repeated the spell of his tutelary deity alone over 2,000,000 times. It is not uncommon to find rosaries so worn away by the friction of so much handling that originally globular beads have become cylindrical.

Affixed to the rosary are small odds and ends, such as a metal toothpick, tweezer, small keys, &c.

#### MATERIAL OF THE BEADS.

The materials of which the Lamaic rosaries are composed may to a certain extent vary in costliness according to the wealth of the wearer. The *Khén-bo* or abbot of a large and wealthy monastery may have rosaries of pearl and other precious stones, and even of gold. Turner relates\* that the Grand Táshi Lama possessed rosaries of pearls, emeralds rubies, sapphires, coral, amber, crystal and lapis-lazuli.

But the material of the rosary can only vary within rather narrow limits. Its nature being determined by the particular sect to which the Lama belongs and the particular deity to whom worship is to be paid.

#### KINDS OF ROSARIES.

The yellow rosary or Setheng ( $\vec{N}\vec{L}^{\prime}\vec{Q}\vec{N}\vec{G}^{\prime}$ ), is the special rosary of the Ge-luk-pa or 'reformed school,' also called 'the yellow hat sect' ( $Sh\acute{a}$ -ser). The beads are formed from the ochrey yellow wood of the Chang-chhub tree ( $2\vec{S}^{\prime}\vec{Z}\vec{N}$ ), literally 'the Bodhi tree' or tree of supreme wisdom, which is said to grow in central China. The wood is so deeply yellow, that it is doubtful whether it be really that of the pipal (Ficus religiosa), of which was the Bodhi tree under which Gautama attained his Buddhahood. These beads are manufactured wholesale by machinery at the temple called by Tibetans  $R\acute{i}$ -wo tse-nga and by the Chinese U-tha Shan, or 'The Five Peaks' about 200 miles Southwest of Pekin. Huc gives a Sketch $\dagger$  of this romantic place but makes no mention of its rosaries. This rosary is of two kinds, viz., the usual

<sup>\*</sup> Embassy to Tibet, p 261, 1800.

<sup>†</sup> Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China. By M. Huc. Hazlitts' trans. I. p. 79.

form of spherical beads about the size of a pea, and a less common form of lozenge-shaped perforated discs about the size of a sixpence. This rosary may be used for all kinds of worship, including that of the furies.

The Bo-dhi-tse  $(\vec{\Sigma}, \vec{\xi}, \vec{\zeta})$  rosary is the one chiefly in use among the Nying-ma-pa, or 'old, (i. e., unreformed) school' of Lamas, also called the Shá-mar or 'red-hat sect.' It is remarkable that its name also seeks to associate it with the Bodhi tree, but its beads are certainly not derived from the Ficus family. Its beads are the rough brown seeds of a tree which grows in the outer Himálayas. This rosary can be used for all kinds of worship, and may also be used by the Ge-luk-pa in the worship of the fiercer deities.

The white rosary *Tungtheng* (১৯০২), consists of cylindrical perforated discs of the conch shell (Tib. *tung*), and is specially used in the worship of Ché-ré-si—the usual form of whose image holds a white rosary in the upper right hand. This is the special rosary of nuns.

The rosary of plain crystal or uncoloured glass beads is also peculiar to Chérési.

The red sandal-wood rosary Tsén-den-mar theng (\$\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1

The coral rosary—Chi-ru-theng (3'3')—is also used for Tam-din, and by the Nyingmapa sects for their wizard-saint Padma Sambhava's worship. Coral being so expensive, red beads of glass or composition are in general use instead. With this rosary, it is usual to have the counters of turquoise or blue beads.

The rosary, formed of discs of the human skull—the thö-theng (25.225)—is especially used for the worship of Dorje-jik-che (Skt. Yáma) one of the forms of the King of the Dead. It is usually inserted within the Bo-dhi-tse or other ordinary rosary; and it frequently has its discs symmetrically divided by 4 large Rak-sha beads into 4 series, one of these beads forming the central bead. There is no rosary formed of finger bones, as has been sometimes stated.

The 'elephant-stone' rosary—Lang-chhen-dö-pa (১৯৫২)—is prepared from a porous bony-like concretion, which is sometimes found in the stomach of the elephant. It also, being suggestive of bone, is used in worship of Yáma. The real material, however, being extremely scarce and expensive, a substitute is usually had in beads made from the fibrous root of the bow-bambu (Zhu-shing) which has on section a struc-

ture very like the stomach-stone, and its name also means 'stomach or digestion' as well as 'bow.'

The rak-sha rosary (IMA) formed of the large brown warty seeds of the Elacocarpus Janitrus, is specially used by the Nyingmapa Lamas in the worship of the fierce deities and demons. The seeds of this tree are normally five-lobed, and it is interesting from a botanical point of view to find, how relatively frequent is the occurrence of six lobes. Such abnormal seeds are highly prized by the Tibetans as being the offspring of the miraculous seeds of Padma Sambhava's rosary—the legend stating that the saint's rosary string broke while at his Halashi hermitage in Nepal, and several of the detached beads remained unpicked up, and from these have resulted the six-lobed seeds. The demand for such uncommon seeds being great, it is astonishing how many of them are forthcoming to diligent search. This rosary is also commonly used by the indigenous Bon-po priests, and it is identical with the rosary of the Sivaic Hindús—the rudráksha (TIT = Rudra's, i. e., fierce Siva's eyes), from which the Tibetan name of rak-sha is supposed to be derived.

The Nang-ga pá-ní rosary is only used for the worship of Nam-sé, the God of Wealth (Skt. Kubera); and by the Ngák-pa or wizards in their mystical incantations. It consists of glossy jet-black nuts about the size of a hazel, but of the shape of small horse chesnuts. These are the seeds of the Lung-thang tree which grows in the sub-tropical forests of the S. E. Himálayas. They are emblematic of the eyes of the Garuḍa bird, the chief assistant of Vajra-páṇi (Jupiter) and the great enemy of snakes—hence is supposed to be derived the Sanskritic name of the beads, from nága, a serpent. Its use in the worship of the God of Wealth is noteworthy in the association of snakes—the mythological guardians of treasure—with the idea of wealth.

The rosary of *snake-spines* (vertebræ) is only used by the sorcerers (Ngák-pa) for purposes of sorcery and divination. The string contains about fifty vertebræ.

The complexion of the god or goddess to be worshipped also determines sometimes the colour of the rosary-beads. Thus a turquoise rosary is occasionally used in the worship of the popular goddess Dö-ma who is of a bluish green complexion. A red rosary with red Tam-din, a yellow with yellow Jam-yang; and Nam-sé who is of a golden yellow colour is worshipped with an amber-rosary.

The rosaries of the laity are composed of any sort of bead according to the taste and wealth of the owner. They are mostly of glass beads of various colours, and the same rosary contains beads of a variety of sizes and colours interspersed with coral, amber, turquoise, &c., vide The number of beads is the same as with the Lamas, but each of the

counter strings are usually terminated by a dorje: both strings recording only units of cycles, which suffice for the smaller amount of bead-telling done by the laity.

#### MODE OF TELLING THE BEADS.

When not in use the rosary is wound round the right wrist like a bracelet, or worn around the neck with the knotted end uppermost.

The act of telling the beads is called tang-che which literally means 'to purr' like a cat, and the muttering of the prayers is rather suggestive of this sound.

In telling the beads the right hand is passed through the rosary, which is allowed to hang freely down with the knotted end upwards. The hand with the thumb upwards is then usually carried to the breast and held there stationary during the recital. On pronouncing the initial word 'Om' the first bead resting on the knuckle is grasped by raising the thumb and quickly depressing its tip to seize the bead against the outer part of the 2nd joint of the index finger. During the rest of the sentence the bead, still grasped between the thumb and index finger, is gently revolved to the right, and on conclusion of the sentence is dropped down the palm-side of the string. Then with another 'Om' the next bead is seized and treated in like manner, and so on throughout the circle.

On concluding each cycle of the beads, it is usual to finger each of the three 'keeper-beads,' saying respectively, 'Om!' 'Ah!' 'Hung!'

## THE MYSTIC FORMULAS FOR THE BEADS.

The mystic formulas for the beads follow the prayer properly so-called, and are believed to contain the essence of the formal prayer, and to act as powerful spells. They are of a Sanskritic nature, usually containing the name of the deity addressed, but are more or less unintelligible to the worshipper.

The formula used at any particular time varies according to the particular deity being worshipped. But the one most frequently used by the individual Lama is that of his own yî-dam or tutelary deity, which varies according to the sect to which the Lama belongs.

The formulas most frequently used are shown in the following table:—

NAME OF DEITY.	THE SPELL.	ENGLISH TRANSLITERA-	SPECIAL KIND
TABLE OF DEITI.	C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C	TION OF SPELL.	OF ROSARY USED
1. Dor-je jik-che $\widetilde{\xi}$ $\widetilde{\xi}$ $\xi$	क्रिंप्स हु ना है स्तर।	Om ! Ya-mân-ta-ka hung phäț !	Human-skull or stomach-stone.
2. Châ-na dorje	क्रिं नर्ह् य है है स्ता	Oṃ ! Bädsra* páṇi hung phät!	Rak-sha.
Skt. Vajrapáņi.	क्षें नहं उद्गुस ५ दें भिष्ति ।	Om! Bädsra-tsan-ḍa ma-ha ro-kha-na hung!	Rak-sha.
3. Tam-ḍin ট্ৰন্মীন Skt. Hayagriva.	क्षें महाना मेर हुं सर।	Ow! päḍ-ma ta krid hung phäṭ!	Red-sandal or Coral.
4- Ché-ré-si or Thuk- je-chhen-po. 되지지 (	क्षेत्रक्ष	Օա ! mâ-ņi päḍ-me hung!	Conch-shell or Crystal.
5. Dö-ma jang-khu 新知知官に囚 Skt. Tárá.	क्षेप्ट्रा में पुर्वे प्राप्त के	Om! Tá-re tut-tá-re tu-re swá-há!	Bo-dhi-tse or turquoise.
6. Dö-kar デスプス・ Skt. Sítá-Tárá.	ध्याध्यम् स्वाहिष्ट्व ध्याध्यम् स्वाहिष्ट्व स्वाह्यम्	Om! Tá-re tut-tá-re ma-ma á-yur pu- nye dsa-nya-na pu khip-ḍa ku-ru swá- há!	Bodhitse.
7. Dor-je phaķ-mo 폴 폴 건지 집 Skt. Vajravárahi.	ख्र. शचः विह्नः ५०० वि. वे. वे.	Om! sar-ba Bud-ha dak-kin-ni hung phäț!	Bodhitse.

<sup>\*</sup> It is noticable that the Tibetans habitually transliterate the Sanskrit j by the softer palatal sibilant ds.

NAME OF DEITY.	THE SPELL.	ENGLISH TRANS- LITERATION OF SPELL.	SPECIAL KIND OF ROSARY USED.
8. Ö-zer chén-ma 국국'로그국'전기자' Skt. Máríchí.	लिस-१-द्वें से सुन्।	Oṃ! Ma-rí-tsye mam swá-há!	Bodhitse.
9. Gön-po nag-po মুস্বুম্বুম্ম্ Skt. Mahákála.	ख्र.चे.स.स्माताः इ.च.स.स्माताः इ.च.स.स्माताः	Om! Srí Ma-há-kâ- la hung phät swá- há!	Raksha.
10. Nam-sé 주지적자 Skt. Kubera.	क्षे.चे.च.भ.४.ले.चे.च	Om! Bai-śrá-ma-na ye swá-há!	Nanga páni or Amber.
11. Dsam-bha-la Ĕみ'ス' ス Skt. Jambhala	्र्यू अ.श्रु.२। अ.श्रु.२।	Oṃ! Dsam-bha-la dsa-len-dra ye swá- há!	Nanga páni.
12. Seng-ge-ḍa 지다기집 Skt Siṃhanáda	कें ख्रु हैं और ५ तु ५ कें खरी	Om! â-hríh Sing-ha- ná-da hung phäț!	Conch shell or Crystal.
13. Jam-yang REN'55KN' Skt. Manjuśrí.	জিজেম্মর্বর্দ্রী	Om! a-ra-pa-tsa-na- dhî!*	Yellow rosary.
14. Dem-chhoķ ন্ট্রিন্	क्षें के कर के के यह।	Om! hríh ha-ha hung hung phäț!	Bodhitse.
15. Päḍma-jung-né スランスランスランス Skt. Padma Sam-bhava.	हैं इ.स.च्या इ.स.इ.ही.	Om! bädsra gu-ru päḍma sí-dhí hung!	Coral or bodhitse.

<sup>\*</sup> The repetition of this spell ad infinitum forms one of the earliest elecution exercises of the boy-pupil.

The laity, through want of knowledge, seldom use with their rosaries other than the well known Lamaic formula 'Om! má-ni pé-me hung', i. e., 'Hail! to the Jewel in the lotus! Hung.' This refers to the Bodhisatwa Chérési (Skt. Padma-páni), the patron-god of Tibet, who, like Buddha, is usually represented as seated or standing within a lotusflower, and who is believed to have been born from such a flower. This formula is of comparatively modern origin, first appearing in the legendary history (bkah bum) of king Srong-tsan-gam-bo, which was one of the so-called 'hidden' treatises, and probably written about the twelfth or fourteenth century A. D. or later. With this formula, which is peculiar to Tibet, may be compared the Chinese and Japanese spells 'Námo Butsu' (=Skt. Namo Buddháya, i. e., Salutation to Buddha!) and Námo O-mi-to Fu (= Skt. Namo Amitábháya, i. e., Salutation to The Boundless Light,——the fictitions Buddha of the Western Paradise.) The Burmese, so far as I have seen, seem to use their rosary merely for repeating the names of the Buddha Trinity viz., 'Phrá' or Buddha, 'Tara' or Dharma and Sangha. And the number of beads in their rosary is a multiple of  $3 \times 3$  as with the Lamas. On completing the cycle the central bead is fingered with the pessimistic formula 'Anitsa, Dukha, Anátha.'

In conclusion may be noted the frequent use of the terms 'Rinchhen theng-wa' and 'Norbu theng-wa,' i. e., 'the Precious Rosary' and 'the Jewelled Rosary' as the titles of anthological books containing choice extracts, especially from sacred literature.

The 'Tsam-chhô-dung' (rtsa-mchhog-grong\*) of the Lamas, and their very erroneous identification of the site of Buddha's death.—By L. A. Waddell, M. B.

In conversations some years ago with Lamas and lay Buddhists at Darjiling, I was surprised to hear that Asam contained a most holy place of Buddhist pilgrimage called 'Tsam-chhô-ḍung,' which, it was alleged, next to the great temple of Dorje-dén† (Sanskrit Vajrásana) at Bodh Gayá, was the most holy spot a Buddhist could visit. Asam is usually regarded as being far beyond the limits of the Buddhist Holy Land, and the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang in the fifth and seventh centuries of our era, to whom we are mainly indebted for our knowledge of ancient Buddhist geography, not only do not mention any

<sup>\*</sup> स्रंभष्ट्रमा मूट्रा

<sup>†</sup> 天下南 「内ちず rdo-rje-gdan.

holy site in Asam, but Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Gauhați at the invitation of the king of Kámrúp, positively notes the absence of Buddhist buildings in Asam.\* Sir W. Hunter also in his statistical account of Asam states† that 'there are now no traces of Buddhism' in Asam.

I therefore felt curious to learn further particulars of this important site in Asam, which had apparently been overlooked by geographers.

In Jäschke's Tibetan Dictionary‡ I found 'rtsa-mchhog-grong' defined as a "town in West Asam where Buddha died," and this statement, it is noted, is given on the authority of the 'Gyalrabs', a vernacular history of Tibet. Csoma de Körös also notes§ that "the death of Shakya, as generally stated in the Tibetan books, happened in Asam near the city of Kusa or Cáma-rúpa (Kámrúp)."

Here then was a clue to the mystery. Buddha's death, it is well known, occurred between two sál trees near Kuśinagara or Kuśanagara in the North-West Provinces of India, thirty-five miles east of Gorakhpur and about one hundred and twenty miles N. N. E. of Benares; and the site has been fully identified by Sir A. Cunningham and others from the very full descriptions given by Hiuen Tsiang and Fa Hian. The name Kuśanagara means 'the town of Kuśa grass '; and as the early Lama missionaries in their translation of the Bauddha Scriptures habitually translated all the Sanskrit and Páli names literally into Tibetan, Kuśanagara was rendered in the 'bKah-hgyur' (the Tibetan version) as 'rtsa-mchhog-grong,' from 'rtsa-mchhog,' kuśa grass + 'grong' a town (=Skt. nagara).

Now, near the north bank of the Brahmaputra, almost opposite Gauhați, the ancient capital of Kámrúp, is, I find, an old village named Sál-Kusa, and it lies on the road between Gauhați and Dewangiri, one of the most frequented passes into Bhotan and Tibet. With their extremely scauty knowledge of Indian geography the Lamas evidently concluded that this 'town of Sál-Kusa' was the 'town of Kuśa,' where Buddha entered into nirváṇa between the two sál trees—seeing that the word sál was also incorporated with the equivalent of 'Tsam-chhôdung', and that in the neighbourhood was the holy hill of Hájo, where,

<sup>\*</sup> Si-yu-ki, trans. by Beal, II, p. 196.

<sup>†</sup> I. p. 39.

<sup>‡</sup> p. 437.

<sup>§</sup> Asiatic Researches, XX, p. 295.

Arch. Surv. India Repts., 1, 76; XVII, 55 &c.

T Kuśa grass (Poa cynosuroides), the sacrificial grass of the Hindús, is also prized by the Buddhists on account of its having formed the cushion on which the Boddhisattva sat under the Bodhi tree. It is also used as a broom in Lamaic temples and as an altar decoration associated with peacock's feathers in the pumpa or holy water vase.

as will be seen hereafter, there probably existed at that time some Buddhist remains.

No description of this Buddhist site seems to be on record, except a very brief note by Col. Dalton\* on the modern Hindú temple of Hájo, which shrines a Buddhist image. As I have had an opportunity of visiting the site, and enjoyed the rare advantage of being conducted over it by a Khams-pa Lama, who chanced to be on the spot, and who had previously visited the site several times and possessed the traditional stories regarding it, I beg to present the following brief description of the site to the Society, in illustration of how the Lamas, originally misled by an identity of name, have subsequently clothed the neighbourhood with a legendary dress in keeping with the story of Buddha's death, and how this place, with its various associated holy spots is now implicitly believed by the pilgrims to be the real site of Buddha's parinirvána. And in this belief, undeterred by the intemperate heat of the plains, Buddhist pilgrims from all parts of Bhotan, Tibet and even from Ladak and south-western China visit these spots and carry off scrapings of the rocks and the soil in the neighbourhood, treasuring up this precious dust in amulets, and for placing beside their dead body, as saving from dire calamities during life and from transmigration into lower animals hereafter. Authentic specimens of this dust, I was informed, commanded in Tibet high prices from the more wealthy residents, who had personally been unable to undertake the pilgrimage.

The Hájo hill, or rather group of hills, where is situated, according to the current tradition of the Lamas, the spot where Buddha 'was delivered from pain,' lies to the north (right) bank of the Brahmaputra about nine miles north-west from Gauhați (Kámrúp), north latitude 26° 11' 18" and east long. 91° 47' 26", and four or five miles north of Sál-Kusa. The hill rises directly from the plain, forming a strikingly bold and picturesque mass; and it is a testimony to its natural beauty to find that the hill has attracted the veneration of people of all religious denominations. The semi-aboriginal Mech and Koch worship it as a deity under the name of Hájo, which means in their vernacular 'the hill.' The Buddhists formerly occupied one of the hillocks, but are now displaced by the Bráhmans who restored the temple, which is now one of the most frequented Hindú temples in Asam. The Muhammadans also have crowned the summit of the highest peak with a masjid.

The cluster of hills presents a very symmetrical appearance as seen from a distance, forming a bold swelling mass culminating in three trident-like peaks, the central one of which is pre-eminent and is regarded by the Buddhists as emblematic of Buddha. The high peaks on either

<sup>\*</sup> J. A. S. B. 1855, LXXI, p. 8.

side of this are identified with Buddha's two chief disciples, viz., Sáriputra and Maudgalaputra. This triad of peaks is seen from a great distance, and it is only on near approach that the smaller hillocks are observed. These latter number about sixteen and are called  $N\acute{e}\cdot t\acute{e}n$  chudu\* or 'the sixteen disciples' of Buddha.

The most holy site, according to the Buddhists, is a bare flattish shoulder of rock, about eight yards in diameter, situated at the north-west base of the hill. This is stated to be the Si-wa tsha-gi tur- $d\ddot{o}\dagger$  or 'the pyre of the cool grove' where Buddha died, and where his body was cremated. The rock here bears several roughly cut inscriptions in Tibetan characters of the mystic sentences 'Om mani padme hung,' 'Om ah hung,' 'Om' &c., and coloured rags torn from the vestments of the pilgrims are tied to the bushes in the neighbourhood. The Hindús have carved here on the rock a figure of the four-armed Vishņu, which the Bráhman priests call  $Dh\acute{u}b\acute{u}$ , or 'the washerwoman of the gods', and the rock they call 'Letai dhupinir  $p\acute{a}t$ .'

It is worthy of note that the Lamas, for the benefit of the resident population of Tibet have made copies of this spot in at least four places in Tibet, viz., at:—

- (I). Ra-gyab,‡ in the south-east outskirts of Lhasa city.
- (II). Pha-pong kha, § in the north suburbs of Lhasa.
- (III). Phur-mó chhe, || about twelve miles to the north-east of Tashilhunpo.
- (IV). She-dag.¶

These sites were consecrated by placing on them a piece of rock brought from this Asam site, now under report; but the latter spot bears the distinctive prefix of  $Gy\acute{a}$ -gar or Indian, implying that it is the original and genuine site.

A high cliff, close to the west of this spot, is called 'the vulture's mound hill,'\*\* as in Tibet vultures usually frequent the neighbourhood of the tur-dö cemeteries.

A short distance beyond this spot, in the jungle, is a roughly hewn stone basin, about six feet in diameter, called by the Lamas, Sang- $gy\acute{a}m\acute{a}$  ko-ko, or the pot in which the Sin-je—the death-demons—boil the heads of the damned. The Bráhmans, on the other hand, assert that it is the bowl in which S'iva or A'di-purusha brewed his potion of lust-excit-

ing Indian hemp, and they point to its green (confervoid) watery contents in proof of this. They also state that a snake inhabits the depths of the bowl; but it was certainly absent at the time of my visit.

Advancing along the pathway, leading up-hill, we pass a few columnar masses of rock lying near the path, which are pointed to as fragments of Buddha's staff\*, with which he unearthed this monster bowl.

Climbing up the hill we reach the temple of Kedáranáth, which is approached by a very steep roughly paved causeway. At the entrance is a long inscription in granite in old Bengálí characters, those being the characters adopted by the Asamese. Adjoining this temple is the shrine of Kamaleśvar or 'the Lord of the lotus.' Here is a tank called by the Lamas ' $Tsh\acute{o}$  mani bhadra' † or 'the lake of the notable gem'; and they state that many waters-sprites ( $N\acute{a}g\acute{a}s$ , serpents or dragons) came out of this pond on the approach of Buddha and presented him with jewels. A small cell by the side of this pond is said to be the place where Buddha set down a mass of butter which had been brought to him as a gift, and the stone linga and yoni (phallus and its counterpart), now shrined here by the Hindús, are pointed to as being their petrified butter.

Crowning the summit of the hill is a large masjid built by Lutfullah, a native of Shiráz, in the reign of the emperor Sháh Jahán, in 1656 A. D. It contains the following Persian inscription:—

بعهد دولت سلطان عادل «شهنشالا جهان و خسرو دین ابوالغازي شجاع الدین سمحمد «شه و شهزادهٔ فرخنده آئین چو لطف الله شهرازي بنا کود «ههایون سمجدی چون خلد رنگین بدارالایمن مشهرور مهالک «شجاع آباد \* خط الله همین \* به هذگامي که رایات عزیمه « به صوب بنگ بود ازعز و تمکین مدام این خانهٔ دین باد معمور « بحق حرمت \* جناب سبتین \* بود زفیض نعمت اللهی قوی باد «همیشه این مهین بنیاد سنگین خود چون سال قاریخ بقاجست « ندا آمد جلی شد خانهٔ دین بر ضمابو جوئندگان اخبار پوشیده نماند که این مسجد اعظم در زمان حضرت صاحبقران ثانی شالا جهان بادشالا غازی کمترین فدویان درگالا مرید و معتقد شالا نعمت الله به اتمام رسانید فی شهر رمضان المبارک سنه ۱۰۱ هجری نعمت الله لطف الله به اتمام رسانید فی شهر رمضان المبارک سنه ۱۰۱ هجری

\* yarakı || [‡ The text here is corrupt. Ed.] + भट्टें य. हे.से. हा।

## Translation,\*

[In the time of the Governorship of the just Sultán, the monarch of the world and the prince of religion,

Abu-l-Ghází Shujá'u-d-dín Muḥammad, the sovereign and son of a sovereign, an auspicious ruler,

When Lutfulláh of Shiráz founded a sacred Masjid, beautiful like Paradise,

In the peaceful town of Shujá'-ábád well known in all countries, ... At the time when the standards were marching towards Bengal with

glory and grandeur.

May this house of religion be ever crowded (with worshippers) for the sake of the sanctity of .........

May this august foundation in stone be ever firm by the blessings of Ni'amatulláh.

When Reason sought for the year of the date of that foundation, a voice came:—"Jalí Shud Khánah-i-dín" (the house of religion became resplendent).

Be it not concealed to the minds of the seekers of information that Lutfullah, the humblest devotee of the threshold, the disciple and believer of Sháh Ni'amatullah, brought this grand Masjid to completion, in the reign of His Majesty the Second Sáhibqirán, Sháhjahán, the victorious emperor, in the month of the blessed Ramazán, in the year 1067 Hijrah.]

A detached conical hillock, about 300 feet above the plain, lying about half a mile to the north-east of the hill, and now crowned by the Hindú temple of Mádhava†, is identified with the great chaitya or *Chhöten chhen-bo‡*, which was erected over the cremated relics of the Tathágatha's body.

The present shrine of the temple seems to be the original shrine of an older Buddhist temple, which, according to both Buddhist and Asamese tradition, formerly existed here—the upper portion only is modern. Col. Dalton has described the general details of this building, and he states, "The Bráhmans call the object of worship Mádhab, "the Buddhists call it Mahámuni, the great sage. It is in fact simply a "colossal image of Buddha in stone. Its modern votaries have, to conceal

<sup>[\*</sup> The translation has been supplied by Maulvi Abdul Hak Abid, B. A., of the Calcutta Madrasah. Ep.]

<sup>+</sup> गांधव प्तवालय.

<sup>‡</sup> मर्केर् 'हम' केम' भें।

<sup>§</sup> loc. cit.

"mutilation, given it a pair of silver goggle-eyes and a hooked gilt silver"ed nose and the form is concealed from view by cloths and chaplets of
"flowers; but remove these and there is no doubt of the image having
"been intended for the 'ruler of all, the propitious, the asylum of cle"mency, the all-wise, the lotus-eyed comprehensive Buddha."

This large image of Buddha is called by the more learned Lama-visitors Munir Muni Mahámuni, i. e., 'the Sage of Sages The Great Sage.' It is the original image of the shrine, and is stated by the Bráhmanic priests, who call it Mádhab, to be of divine origin and an actual embodiment or avatár of the god, in contra-distinction to the other images which are called mere 'múrtis' or hand-fashioned copies of typical forms of the respective gods represented. This may merely mean that the Bráhmans found this image here, while the others were brought from the neighbourhood or elsewhere. What seems to be the history of the mutilation of this image is found in the account of the invasion of the Koch kingdom of Lower Asam by the Musalmans under Mír Jumlah in 1661 A. D. This chief issued "directions to destroy all the idolatrous temples and "to erect mosques in their stead...... To evince his zeal for "religion, the General himself, with a battle-axe broke the celebrated "image of Narain, the principal object of worship of the Hindus of "that province." Náráyana is one of the names of Mádhab and a patronymic of the Koch rájá's; and Hajo was a seat of the Koch rájás. And it was at Hajo that Mír Jumla took the Koch king prisoner,†

The other images, not mentioned by Dalton, but which must have existed at the time of his visit, are also of stone and are placed on either side of the large image. They are four in number and are of considerable size. According to the Lama-pilgrims they are all Buddhist images; but the crypt was so dimly lit, and the images so enveloped in clothes and wreaths of flowers that I could not distinguish their specific characters, with the exception of the head and peculiar trident of the first, and the head of the second, which were characteristic and justified their recognized names, viz.:—

No. 1.—Ogyen Guru to the left of Mahámuni.

- " 2.—Dorje Dolö‡ to the right of "
- " 3.—Shakya Thuba " " " No. 2.
- ", 4.— 'Sencha' Muni. " " " " 3.

Although Hindú priests, as a rule, are not very methodical in their bestowal of names upon the images which they have appropriated from

<sup>\*</sup> Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 289.

<sup>†</sup> BEVERIDGE, Cal. Review July 1890 p. 12.

<sup>‡</sup> रें हैं चें यों ।

Buddhist ruins, still I here give the Brahmanical names as reported by the attendant priests, as, this being a wealthy temple, the priests were more learned than usual, and the names should give some idea of the nature of the images. After stating that the Buddhist pilgrims gave the above-noted names to the images, these priests said that the Brahmanical names were as follows, which I give in the order of the previous list:—

No. 1. Dwitíya Mádhaber múrti.

No. 2. Lál Kanaiyá Bankat Bihárer múrti.

No. 3. Basu Deber múrti.

No. 4. Hayagriber múrti.

In the vestibule are lotus ornamentations and several articles of the usual paraphernalia of a Buddhist temple including the following:—A pyramidal framework or wheeless car like the Tibetan Chhang-ga chutuk, with lion figures at the corners of each tier, such as is used to seat the image of a demon which is to be carried beyond the precincts of the temple and there thrown away. The present frame is used by the priests of this temple to parade in the open air one of the smaller images of the shrine (? Hayagríva), but the image is again returned to the shrine. Above this throne is stretched a canopy called by the Lamas Nam-yul. It contains the figure of an 8-petalled lotus flower and has, as is customary, a dependant red fringe. On either side is hung a huge closed umbrella. These articles have been in the temple from time immemorial.

Of the external decorations of the temple, the row of sculptured elephants along the basement, evidently a portion of the old Buddhist temple, has been figured by Col. Dalton in the paper above referred to; and is identical with the decorative style of the Kylas cave temple of Ellora figured by Fergusson in plate XV of his 'Cave Temples'. The upper walls are covered with sculptured figures nearly life size. The ten avatáras of Vishņu are represented with Buddha as the ninth. The remaining figures are of a rather nondescript character, but they are mostly male, and nearly every figure carries a trident (triśula)—the khatam of the Buddhists. The Lamas state that these figures were formerly inside the temple, but that Buddha ejected them. And it is stated that the temple was built in one night by Jo-wo gyé-bó Bish-wa-Karma\* the Vulcan of the Hindús and Buddhists.

Attached to the temple is a colony of Natí (नटी), or dancing girls,†

# \* पर्ने पें खेथ पें पेश नम।

† "Asam, or at least the north-east of Bengal (i e., Kámrúp) seems to have been in a great degree the source from which the Tantrica and Sakta corruptions

who are supported out of the funds of the temple, and who on the numerous feast days dance naked in a room adjoining the shrine. These orgies are part of the Shakti worship so peculiar to Kámrúp, but nowhere is it so grossly conducted as at this temple.\* The Natí and the idol-car are also conspicuous at the degenerate Buddhist temple of Jagannáth at Puri.

At the eastern base of the hillock, on which this temple stands, is a fine large tank, called by the Lamas Yön-chhab tshô†, or 'the lake of excellent water.' This pond, it is said, was made by Buddha with one prod of his staff, when searching for the huge bowl already described which he unearthed here. This pond is also said to be tenanted by fearful monsters.

I have been unable to ascertain positively whether any Buddhist building existed here previous to the Lamas' fixing on the site as the Kuśanagara of Buddha's death. Certainly no monastery existed here at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit to the Kámrúp (Gauhațí) court in the seventh century A. D., for he says of this country that 'the people have "no faith in Buddha, hence from the time when Buddha appeared in the "world even down to the present time there never as yet has been built "one Sangháráma as a place for the priests to assemble." The reference which Táránáth§ makes to the great stúpa of Kuśanagara as being situated here, in Kámrúp, was taken from report and thus would merely show that the present Lama-tradition was current during his time. Any chaitya or other Buddhist building would seem to have been subsequent to the seventh century; and in all probability marked a site visited by the great mediæval apostle of Lamaism, Guru Rimbochhe or Padma Sambhava. The different accounts of this great teacher's wanderings vary considerably, but he is generally credited in the Padma Kahthang and elsewhere with having traversed most of the country between Lower Asam and Tibet. There is no evidence of Buddha having visited Asam. And in this view it is to be noted that the Bhotan Lamas call the chief image of this shrine Námo Guru or 'The Teacher,' one of the epithets of Padma Sambhava. And the images on either side of it are also those of Padma Sambhava, viz., ' Ogyén Guru,' a mild form, and Dorje Polö, a demoniacal form of this saint. Further, the chief of 'the eight Sages' or rig-dsin|| (i. e., receptacle of knowledge) of the Lamas is named Hungkara; and a common title

of the religion of the Vedas and Puránas proceeded."—H. H. Wilson, Preface to Vishņu Purána.

<sup>\*</sup> They have their counterpart in the ἐερόδουλοι of the Greek Strabo VIII, 6 p. 20.

<sup>†</sup> र्थोन'क्रप'में कै। ‡ Op. cit.

<sup>§</sup> VASSILIEF'S Le Bouddisme, trad. du Russe par M. G. A. Comme, p. 44.

<sup>।</sup> देन रहेंग

for Padma Sambhava is 'the great Rig-dsin', while Hung is the usual symbolic term for him. And a very common Lamaic hymn connects Hungkara with this site, viz.,—"In the wondrous great shrine of 'the Eastern Pyre of the Cool-grove' dwells the rigdsin Hungkara (or Lôpön Hungkara). Shower on us thy blessings! Come Guru! Come demigods! Come fairies! Come!" No local mention is made of the especial saint of Bhotan, viz., Zhab tung Ngâ-wang Nam-gyal,\* which might have been expected, had he entered Bhotan by this route.

The form of Buddhism here represented is of the highly Tantrik and demoniacal kind, propagated by Padma Sambháva and now existing n the adjoining country of Bhotan. Even this mild form of the image of Ogyén Guru has decapitated human heads strung on to his trident. The second image is of a more demoniacal kind. The third image is, of course, Shakya Muni (Buddha). The fourth image, from its Bráhmanical name, is Tam-din (Skt. Hayagríva), one of the fiercest forms of demigods and an especial protector of Lamaism. The trident is everywhere conspicuous in the hands of the sculptured figures on the walls, and Shakti rites are more pronounced here than in any other place in Northern India.† It seems therefore quite possible that a visit to Kámrúp, as well as Káshmír, and the mystic traditions of his own land—Udyána (Tib. Ogyén)—may have accounted for the excessively Tantrik form of Buddhism professed and taught by Padma Sambhava.

It is also remarkable to find that the high-priest of the Hajo temple, in common with the other high-priests in Kámrúp, is called Dalai‡,—a title which is usually stated to have been conferred on the fifth Grand Lama of Lhasa by a Mongolian emperor in the seventeenth century A. D.; but the Tibetan equivalent of this title, viz., Gyá-tshó or 'ocean', is known to have been used by grand Lamas previously. As, however, the word is Mongolian, it is curious to find it naturalized here and spontaneously used by Bráhmans. It seems also to be the title of village-headman in the adjoining Garo hills. The dalai of this temple is a married man, but the office is not hereditary. He is elected by the local priests from amongst their number, and holds office till death. He resides at the foot of the hill, below the temple, in a large house, the exterior of which is profusely decorated with the skulls of wild buffalo, wild pig, deer, and other big game, &c., like the house of an Indo-Chinese chieftain.

## \* @प्र' হ্ব' দ্বা'দ্ব্ব'র্ম' ঠ্রা II

<sup>†</sup> Dancing girls appear to figure to some extent in certain Lamaic ceremonies in Bhotan, vide Turner's 'Embassy to Tibet', p. 32.

<sup>‡</sup> He writes his title परेन.